2: Schaden--23 E-4,6 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/20/

621 177 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 68 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos participate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detriment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the performance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous; consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

[433] 621 182 563 177 78

621 177 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbyá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of vending tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Mundrucú from Jacareí have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

[437] [736]

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ [262] [273] [433] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saburá. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard catete. [437] Since the saburá is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of [171] [431] the distinction between the saburá maize as a traditional cultural element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There is [773] heresy in saburá maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character: it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to ruin the seeds: the kernels of the ears that show signs of creasing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saburá maize are not uniform: they differ from village to village and, even more, from one subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some [126] [114] seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luiz de Queiroz, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

/140 cont./

771 177 178 [159] Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possibility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 176 177 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations. 77 177 [441] [273] Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in religious articles, for them. (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[167] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis;* a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

[167] Gras, 1930.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



forth. In each case, the "price" is what the Cayuá knows the settler will ordinarily pay for the goods or services in question. Rather seldom, however, are the services or goods paid for in actual money. In fact, the Cayuá has very little need for money; he almost always works for limited, specific goods for immediate needs, a certain amount of cloth (as much as he requires for himself or his family), a hoe, a kilo of salt, a bar of soap, or a number of these things at once. These are his needs for a given period, usually no more than a season or two at a time. He does not save money or keep trade goods far ahead of his need for them. But in a large number of dealings with the Neo-Brazilian, money is now the *measure* used to decide whether the Cayuá will be satisfied, for instance, with the number of meters of cloth the *patrão* is offering for doing the specified amount of *changa* under discussion. The work is worth so much money; the cloth is worth so much money. Are they nearly equivalent?

There is nowadays much discussion of prices among the Cayuá themselves, how much a certain *patrão* pays per unit area, and how much so-and-so sold his corn for, how much ordinary cloth is costing per meter, and other such prices. These prices must necessarily be discussed in terms of money (either Brazilian or Paraguayan), even though most Cayuá rarely obtain trade goods or sell their own goods for actual money. This price concept, related to a money standard, is largely a result of dealings with Neo-Brazilians, and the Cayuá application of the concept to goods and services, therefore, so far tends to be limited to negotiations on the outside. When Cayuá negotiations with Cayuá are for the same goods or services as occur in arrangements on the outside, the price concept may also, naturally, be applied. But when other goods or services are in question, which are not involved in outside dealings, it is less likely that the money standard will be applied among Cayuá, or it will be applied hesitatingly and with uncertainty on both sides. However, enough goods and services are now appraised in terms of money that other goods and services, not ordinarily thought of in this way, can also sometimes be priced and evaluated by comparison.

As Gras points out, the four types of exchange he distinguishes, gift economy, gift barter, pure barter, and money barter, are not mutually exclusive.[125] We need not, therefore, be surprised to learn that the exchange of goods among Cayuá does not always conform to the money barter type. Cayuá examples of all the above types of exchange of goods and services could probably be cited (but will not be here since they do not seem related to acculturation). Summing up, then, the type of exchange termed by Gras "money barter," which certainly did not exist aboriginally, now marks most of the economic relations of Cayuá with Brazilian settlers and also marks some of the exchange of goods and services among the Cayuá themselves.

[125] *Ibid.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua



241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* – at that point in the arrangement, at least.
Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
465 also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
466 working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
197 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
[273] Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating practices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" – alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá – even the non-peon sometimes – to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
178 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
• 437 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products
438 of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua



the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with indefinite but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact, together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost certainly recently introduced features of Cayuá economy.

But the matter has developed farther — and here there is certainly adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services are performed. A man (or a woman — a widow, in the cases observed) will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the "*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão*." But there can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with sufficient frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents, bereft of wider significance.

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this occasional payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the "cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institution of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly — and still today, in many respects — the basis of the *puxirão* work party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the *chicha*, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and immediate calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

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178 24 ACTA AMERICANA
476 values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão*, and not just the
437 price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one was obliged to furnish.

177 Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper
182 about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic ac-
tivity, it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as
434 nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão*, or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão*, and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own *roça*. He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

434 The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates
a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course,
182 tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily
184 more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or
177 he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his *róça* while the peon was away working for the *patrão*. These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

476 The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend
182 the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to
177 do to "catch up" with the work of his own *roça*. He himself, however, may wish to give a *puxirão*, to help "catch up." In this case, the
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